

Message Text

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ACTION L-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 OIC-02 CU-02 SAM-01 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 /072 W
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O R 071230Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2695

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3284

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

REF: (A) GENEVA 2963; (B) STATE 104773; (C) STATE 47639;
(D) GENEVA 3126

1. SUMMARY: AT LUNCHEON OF BONN GROUP DELEGATION HEADS MAY 6, FRG, UK, FRENCH AND US REPS SAID THEY COULD ACCEPT SOMETHING LIKE NEUTRALS' MINIMAL TEXT (PARA 3 OF GENEVA 3059) AS SATISFACTORY QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRR) SAVING CLAUSE. IT WAS GENERALLY RECOGNIZED THAT PRINCIPLE PROBLEM WOULD BE MOVING SOVIETS TOWARD NEUTRAL TEXT. AS FURTHER STEP IN THIS DIRECTION, BONN GROUP REPS AGREED SOVIETS SHOULD BE ADVISED OF THEIR ASSESSMENT OF NEUTRALS' POSITION AND ASKED IF THEY COULD AGREE TO ADDITIONAL CHANGES TO EXISTING FRENCH QRR TEXT: DELETION OF "RESPONSIBILITIES" AND OF
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"PREVIOUSLY ENTERED INTO BY THOSE STATES OR WHICH

CONCERN THEM". HOPE OF BONN GROUP REPS IS THAT SOVIETS WILL CONCUR WITH PRESENTATION OF SUCH A TEXT TO NEUTRALS, AND THAT NEUTRALS WILL THEN MAKE A COUNTER-PROPOSAL WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL CONCERNED. END SUMMARY.

2. FRENCH AMBASSADOR REPORTED THAT FONMIN SAUVAGNARGUES ACCEPTED JUDGEMENT THAT FRENCH QRR TEXT WOULD REQUIRE GREATER MODIFICATIONS THAN PREVIOUSLY ENVISAGED AND THAT FULL FALLBACK TO TEXT LIKE THAT SUGGESTED BY SWISS APRIL 30 (PARA 3 OF GENEVA 3059) WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. BRITISH AMBASSADOR INDICATED HIS AUTHORITIES ALSO COULD PROBABLY ACCEPT GOING BACK AS FAR AS SWISS PROPOSED, BUT THAT THEY PREFERRED TO TRY FOR MIDDLE FALLBACK REPRESENTED BY DELETION OF "RESPONSIBILITES" AND "PREVIOUSLY ENTERED INTO BY TGOSE STATES OR WHICH CONCERN THEM", WHICH THEY BELIEVE ARE AT HEART OF PROBLEMS FOR KEY NEUTRAL YUGOSLAVIA (REF A). FRG AMBASSADOR SAID HE BELIEVED BONN WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY WITH MIDDLE FALLBACK AND COULD PROBABLY ACCEPT TEXT ALONG SWISS LINES. WE REPORTED DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS, REF B, EXCEPT FOR PARA 3 WHICH WOULD ONLY BE APPLICABLE IF CONCEPT OF "RESPONSIBILITES" IS KEPT IN PLAY. WE CONSIDER THAT MIDDLE FALLBACK WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE AND MIGHT EVEN BE PREFERABLE TO SWISS SENTENCE BECAUSE OF SLIGHTLY GREATER ECHO OF PREVIOUS QRR STATEMENTS AND RETENTION OF ANTI-BREZHNEV DOCTRINE HEDGE REPRESENTED BY "IN CONFORMITY WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW" QUALIFIER TO "TREATIES, AGREEMENTS OR ARRANGEMENTS" (REF A PARA 7, REF C).

3. DEL HEADS AGREED THAT, AFTER FRG CHECKS OVERNIGHT WITH BONN, FRENCH AMBASSADOR WOULD REPORT TO SOVIETS ALLIED ASSESSMENT THAT WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO NEUTRALS AND OUR WISH TO TRY MIDDLE FALLBACK. FRENCH AMBASSADOR WOULD ALSO ENSURE THAT SOVIETS ARE CURRENT ON SWISS PROPOSAL AND INDICATE THAT WHILE WE CONSIDER IT SERIOUS EFFORT TO MEET FOUR POWER NEEDS WE WOULD BE WILLING AT THIS STAGE TO TRY TO GAIN AGREEMENT ON SOMETHING A BIT FULLER. WE WOULD NOT ENVISAGE MEETING WITH NEUTRALS UNTIL WE OBTAIN SOVIET REACTION.

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4. IF SOVIETS ARE AS EAGER TO PRESS FORWARD ON THIS ISSUE AS THEY HAVE GIVEN INDICATIONS, WE MAY AUTHORIZE ALLIES TO TRY MIDDLE FALLBACK WITH NEUTRALS. IF THEY DIG IN THEIR HEELS, ALLIES WOULD CONSULT AMONG THEMSELVES BUT OUR INCLINATION FOR SHORT TERM TACTIC WOULD BE TO CONVENE ALLIED-NEUTRALS MEETING AT WHICH WE WOULD INDICATE OUR NEW FLEXIBILITY AND SUGGEST THAT NEUTRALS MIGHT USEFULLY SEEK TO EXPLAIN THEIR CONCERN TO SOVIETS. EITHER

WAY WE WOULD HOPE TO DEMONSTRATE TO NEUTRALS THAT WE ARE
PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD THEIR POSITION BUT HOPE THAT
THEY WILL NOW MEET US HALFWAY OR MAKE FURTHER
CONSTRUCTIVE COUNTER-PROPOSAL. ABRAMS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, AGREEMENTS, AGREEMENT DRAFT, NEUTRALISM, BERLIN QUADRIpartite MATTERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA03284
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750160-0120
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750574/aaaacpwg.tel
Line Count: 119
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION L
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 GENEVA 2963, 75 STATE 104773, 75 STATE 47639
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 MAY 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <20 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITES
TAGS: PFOR, XG, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006